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AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF

England, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*,

ON THE PRESENT

Important Criſis of AFFAIRS.

BY

CATHARINE MACAULAY. Graham.

Printed by R. CRUTTWELL, in BATH,

FOR

S EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY, in the Poultry, LONDON.

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ADDRESS, &c.

THE advantage of a ſecond opportunity to correct a miſtake, when the firſt has been neglected, is a happineſs which few individuals, or bodies of men, experience; and a bleſſing which, if it oftener occurred in the affairs of life, would enable moſt of us to avoid the greater part of the miſery which at preſent appears inſeparable to the human ſtate.

The Electors of this kingdom, however, have ſhewn themſelves incorrigible, by re-

cently abuſing what the author of *The Patriot* juſtly calls a high dignity, and an important truſt; and this after a ruinous experience of the effects of a former ill-placed confidence.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that either the beauty of juſtice, the intereſts of liberty, or the welfare of individuals, as united to the common good, can have any avail with men, who, at this important criſis of Britiſh affairs, could reject the wiſe example ſet them by the city of London, in requiring a teſt from thoſe they elected into the repreſentative office; a teſt which, had it been generally taken, and religiouſly obſerved, would have diſperſed the dark cloud which hangs over the empire, reſtored the former ſplendor of the nation, and given a renewed ſtrength, vigour, and purity, to the Britiſh conſtitution.

Among the body of Electors, however, there are undoubtedly many who, by the moſt cruel

cruel of undue influences,—that influence which the opulent exert over the needy, have in a manner been conſtrained to act contrary to judgment and inclination; while there are others who have been miſled by their ignorance, and the ſophiſtry of men of better underſtanding.——To theſe, and that large body of my countrymen who are unjuſtly debarred the privilege of election, and, except by petition and remonſtrance, have no legal means of oppoſing the meaſures of government, I addreſs myſelf on the preſent momentous occaſion.

It can be no ſecret to you, my friends and fellow citizens, that the miniſtry, after having exhauſted all thoſe ample ſources of corruption which your own tameneſs under oppreſſive taxes have afforded, either fearing the unbiaſſed judgment of the people, or impatient at the ſlow, but ſteady progreſs of deſpotiſm, have attempted to wreſt from our American Coloniſts every privilege neceſſary to freemen;—privileges which they hold from

from the authority of their charters, and the principles of the conſtitution.

With an entire ſupineneſs, England, Scotland, and Ireland, have ſeen the Americans, year by year, ſtripped of the moſt valuable of their rights; and, to the eternal ſhame of this country, the ſtamp act, by which they were to be taxed in an arbitrary manner, met with no oppoſition, except from thoſe who are particularly concerned, that the commercial intercourſe between Great-Britain and her Colonies ſhould meet with no interruption.

With the ſame guilty acquieſcence, my countrymen, you have ſeen the laſt Parliament finiſh their venal courſe, with paſſing two acts for ſhutting up the Port of Boſton, for indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets-Bay, and changing their chartered conſtitution of government: And to ſhew that none of the fundamental principles of our boaſted conſtitution are held

ſacred

ſacred by the government or the people, the ſame Parliament, without any interruption either by petition or remonſtrance, paſſed another act for changing the government of Quebec; in which the Popiſh religion, inſtead of being tolerated as ſtipulated by the treaty of peace, is eſtabliſhed; in which the Canadians are deprived of the right to an aſſembly, and of trial by jury; in which the Engliſh laws in civil caſes are aboliſhed, the French laws eſtabliſhed, and the crown empowered to erect arbitrary courts of judicature; and in which, for the purpoſe of enlarging the bounds where deſpotiſm is to have its full ſway, the limits of that province are extended ſo as to comprehend thoſe vaſt regions that lie adjoining to the northerly and weſterly bounds of our colonies.

The anxious deſire of preſerving that harmony which had ſo long and ſo happily exiſted between the Parent State and her Colonies, occaſioned the Americans to bear, with

with an almoſt blameable patience, the innovations which were continually made on their liberty, 'till the miniſtry, who imagined their moderation proceeded from ignorance and cowardice, by depriving them of almoſt every part of their rights which remained unviolated, have raiſed a ſpirit beyond the Atlantic, which may either recover the opportunities we have loſt of reſtoring the breaches which for near a century have been making in our conſtitution, or of ſinking us into the loweſt abyſs of national miſery.

In theſe times of general diſcontent, when almoſt every act of our Governors excites a jealouſy and apprehenſion in all thoſe who make the intereſts of the community their care, there are ſeveral amongſt us who, dazzled with the ſun-ſhine of a court, or fattening on the ſpoils of the people, have uſed their utmoſt endeavours to darken your underſtandings on thoſe ſubjects, which, at this

this time, it is particularly your buſineſs to be acquainted with. There are others who, whilſt they have the words Freedom, Conſtitution, and Privilege, continually in their mouths, are uſing every mean in their power to render thoſe limitations uſeleſs, which have from time to time been erected by our anceſtors, as mitigations of that barbarous ſyſtem of deſpotiſm impoſed by the Norman tyrant on the inhabitants of this iſland.

Theſe men attempt to perſuade you, that thoſe who appear the moſt anxious for the ſafety of their country are the leaſt intereſted in its welfare. They have had the inſolence to tell you, though in contradiction to the evidence of your feelings, that all goes well, that your Governors faithfully fulfil the duties of their office, and that there are no grievances worthy to be complained of but thoſe which ariſe from that ſpirit of faction which, more or leſs, muſt ever exiſt in a limited monarchy.——Theſe men have told you,

you, that you are no judges of the ſtate of your political happineſs; that you are made of too inflammable materials to be truſted with the knowledge of your injuries, even if you have ſuffered any; and that thoſe who appeal to you, do it only with the intention to betray you.—They have told you that Quebec, being on the other ſide of the Atlantic, it is of little conſequence to you what religion is there eſtabliſhed; that the Canada bill only ſecures to the inhabitants of that province privileges which were ſtipulated to them on the yielding the place to the Engliſh; and that thoſe are as bad as Papiſts, who refuſe to any people the enjoyment of their religion.

Theſe men, my fellow citizens, have attempted to divert you from the exacting a teſt as the rule of parliamentary conduct, and to bring into ſuſpicion thoſe who have been willing to enter into ſalutary engagements: They have told you, that ſuch candidates, by promiſing more than they were able to perform,

perform, only meant to delude you by an empty clamour of ineffectual zeal.——Theſe men, in aſſerting that you are too profligate, too needy, and too ignorant to be adequate judges of your own buſineſs, endeavour to throw diſgrace and contempt on thoſe who have made an indefinite promiſe of obeying the mandates of their conſtituents.

Theſe men have aſſerted, that unlimited obedience is ſtipulated in the acceptance of protection; and though ſuch an aſſertion involves you and the ſubjects of every ſtate in unlimited ſlavery, and unlimited ſlavery excludes every idea of right and power, yet they have alſo told you, that it is in vindication of your authority that your Governors have exerted an arbitrary power over your brethren in America.

In order to confound your ideas on the merits of the diſpute, and to ſtifle your feelings of humanity, they have told you, that the

the Americans, though neither adequately or inadequately repreſented in the caſe of taxation, ſtand on the ſame predicament with yourſelves, and that there is no more injuſtice in inflicting a ſevere puniſhment on the whole town of Boſton, for the ſuppoſed offence of a few of its inhabitants, than in the bombarding a town in the poſſeſſion of an enemy, when, by ſuch an act of hoſtility, a few of our own people dwelling in the town might accidentally be deſtroyed.

This, my friends and fellow citizens, is treating you, indeed, according to the appellations of ignorant and profligate, ſo freely given you; but as there are many of you who, I truſt, deſerve not theſe ſevere terms of reproach, I ſhall appeal to that meaſure of underſtanding which the Almighty has given in common to man, and endeavour to convince you of the falſhood of theſe aſſertions.

Men who are rid of the numerous ills which narrow circumſtances occaſion, and this

this by penſions taken from the public treaſure, may, from a ſelfiſhneſs inſeparable to human nature, fancy that the times cannot be better; but that this is the mere deluſion of thoſe who rejoice at your expence, your own experience muſt, I think, fully ſhew you. Let the once-opulent trader, let the ſtarving mechanic, bear witneſs to this truth, that our commerce has been declining with haſty ſteps for theſe laſt ten years:—Let the numerous half-famiſhed poor which we meet at every turn in our ſtreets; let the needy gentry, whoſe honeſt independent anceſtors have handed down to them a moderate income, and who find that income yearly ſinking from bare ſufficiency to poverty, bear witneſs, that the high price of all the neceſſaries of life, with the oppreſſive burden of our taxes, are very weighty evils.

Though men of true virtue, my fellow citizens, (that is, men who have a juſt regard for the rights of nature, for the general happineſs

happineſs of the human ſpecies, and for the happineſs of their countrymen in particular) will not willingly aſſociate with thoſe of looſer principles, yet they will undoubtedly endeavour to ſtop the career of that government, whoſe impolitic meaſures are every day adding numbers to the wretched maſs of the ignorant, the needy, and the profligate.

To oppoſe government with ſucceſs, ſuch honeſt individuals muſt make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the multitude, and conſequently, of good and bad citizens, of the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, of the wiſe and the fooliſh, that is, of every man who will co-operate with them in their deſigns, whether he be led to ſuch co-operation by the principle of juſtice, by intereſt, or by paſſion.

Though Quebec is ſituated beyond the Atlantic, my fellow citizens, you are ſtill to remember that it is part of the Britiſh empire; and that, though a toleration of all religions, where ſuch indulgence can be uſed with

with ſafety to the welfare of the community, is undoubtedly laudable, becauſe agreeable to the principles of juſtice and the rights of nature, yet the eſtabliſhment of Popery, which is a very different thing from the toleration of it, is, for very juſt and wiſe reaſons, altogether incompatible with the fundamental principles of our conſtitution.

I will, however, wave a ſubject which muſt ever be an invidious one while there are ſo many of us in communion with the Roman church, and which is perhaps impertinent, becauſe it carries with it the appearance of a remote danger, while ſo many nearer miſchiefs demand our preſent and our earneſt attention.

It is of not the eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion in Quebec, even to the excluſion of a toleration to the Proteſtants except by favour of the crown, and this at a time when the teſt, and other arbitrary acts reſtraining the rights of conſcience, hang over the heads of our own Diſſenters, that we now complain.

complain.——Our preſent objection is not to that which the Canadians enjoy, but to that of which they are deprived.——It is not the preſervation, but the violation of the Royal Word, which ſtands the foremoſt in our liſt of grievances.

In the act for the government of the province of Quebec, my friends and fellow citizens, we read deſpotiſm in every line.——The poor Canadians, inſtead of being put in poſſeſſion of all the privileges and immunities of Engliſh ſubjects, according to his Majeſty's proclamation in 1763, are indeed favoured with the full poſſeſſion of their religion as long as his Majeſty, who is at the head of their church, is graciouſly inclined to continue to them ſuch indulgence; yet in reſpect both to their civil and religious rights, they are in a more abject ſtate of ſlavery than when they were under the French government.

The conqueſts of foreign nations are dangerous triumphs, even to the liberty of republican

publican ſtates; but in limited monarchies; when on the conquered are impoſed laws, oppoſite and hoſtile to the limitations of power in theſe governments, it never fails of ſubjecting the conquerors to the ſame meaſure of ſlavery which they have impoſed on the conquered.

Had the government of Charles the Fifth, my fellow citizens, been confined to the ſovereignty of Spain, the Spaniards might to this day have preſerved a greater degree of freedom than any other of the European nations.

It was the Canada bill, and other tranſactions of the government, which equally threatened your ſecurity and welfare; that engaged the city of London to exact from thoſe they elected into the repreſentative office an engagement, by which their members were bound to endeavour, to the utmoſt of their abilities, the repeal of the unconſtitutional laws which paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion

of the laſt parliament reſpecting America. And as ſeptennial parliaments are found to be the root from whence all our political grievances ſpring, they were alſo bound to endeavour the reſtoration of our ancient privileges in reſpect to the duration of parliaments.

Surely, my friends and fellow citizens, this is a conduct which, at ſuch a criſis of our affairs, was laudable and neceſſary; and a conduct which, if all the electors of Great-Britain had followed, we ſhould not now have been at the eve of a civil war with America; nor ſuch an interruption given to our commerce, as threatens the immediate ruin of thouſands of families.

Surely, my friends and fellow citizens, in ſuch a ſtate of our affairs, no honeſt and enlightened man could have refuſed binding himſelf to ſuch endeavours; and though the obeying every mandate of conſtituents may

in ſome very extraordinary conjuncture of opinions and circumſtances, be wrong, yet at a time when the repreſentatives had affected an entire independency, or rather an abſolute ſovereignty, over their conſtituents, this might be a ſufficient reaſon for many worthy men, as a far leſſer evil, to ſubmit to an indefinite obligation of obedience.

Power is regarded by all men as the greateſt of temporal advantages. The ſupport given to Power, therefore, is an obligation; and, conſequently, the protection given by governors to ſubjects, a poſitive duty. The ſubject can only be bound to obedience on the conſiderations of public good; but the Sovereign, on theſe conſiderations, and a thouſand others equally binding, is tied to the exact obſervance of the laws of that conſtitution under which he holds his power.

The aſſertion that "the Americans, tho' "neither adequately or inadequately repre-

" ſented, ſtand on the ſame predicament " with yourſelves," is too glaring a falſhood to deceive you; and I ſhall not affront your underſtanding ſo much as to fancy you can ſuppoſe that the poſitive puniſhment of the whole town of Boſton for the offence of a few individuals, when thoſe individuals might have been proſecuted according to law, can be a caſe ſimilar to the running the hazard of hurting a few citizens in the attempt of re-taking one of our own towns from the enemy.

I have hitherto, my friends and fellow citizens, endeavoured to prevent your being miſled by the ſophiſtry of thoſe who have an intereſt in deceiving you. I ſhall now give you ſome of the judicious obſervations of one of your beſt friends, in regard to the conduct of your government towards America.——

" Before the taxing of the unrepreſented " colonies of America was thought of, (ſays

" Mr.

" Mr. Burgh*) the Miniſtry ought to have
" reduced exorbitant ſalaries, abated or abo-
" liſhed exceſſive perquiſites, annihilated uſe-
" leſs places, ſtopped iniquitous penſions,
" with-held electioneering expences, and
" bribes for votes in the Houſe, reduced
" an odious and devouring army, and taxed
" vice, luxury, gaming, and public diver-
" ſions:——This would have brought into
" the treaſury ten times more than could
" have ever been expected from taxing, by
" force and authority, the unrepreſented
" Colonies.

" Even a conquered city has time given
" it to raiſe the contributions laid upon it,
" and may raiſe it in its own way. We
" have treated our Colonies worſe than con-
" quered countries. Neither Wales nor
" Ireland are taxed unheard and unrepre-
" ſented in the Britiſh Parliament, as the

 " Colonies:

* Political Diſquiſitions, page 313, et ſeq.

" Colonies :——Wales ſends members to
" parliament, and Ireland has done ſo ; and
" as Ireland is not now repreſented in the
" Britiſh Parliament, neither is it taxed in
" the Britiſh Parliament.

" It is frivolous to alledge, that becauſe
" the Mother Country has been at expences
" for the Colonies, therefore the Britiſh Par-
" liament may tax them, without allowing
" them any legal opportunity of remonſtra-
" ting againſt the oppreſſion. The Mother
" Country has ſpent her blood and her trea-
" ſure in ſupporting, at different times,
" France againſt Spain, and Spain againſt
" France, Pruſſia againſt Hungary, and
" Hungary againſt Pruſſia, and ſo on with-
" out end. Does this give our Parliament
" a right to tax all Europe ?

" What difference is there between the
" Britiſh Parliament's taxing America, and
" and the French Court's laying England
" under

" under contribution?—The French Court " could but do this if they had conquered " England.——Have we conquered our " Colonies?"

This excellent Author ſhews how the Americans, if there had been a neceſſity for ſuch a meaſure, might have been taxed by our Parliament, without violating the right of repreſentation; but, with the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, who ſpeaks on this ſubject in a manner which muſt convince every man whoſe prejudices are only founded in ignorance, he is of opinion, that the moſt beneficial way of taxing the Colonies is the obliging them to an excluſive commerce with us.

To all the reſtrictions laid on their trade, the Americans declare they will ever readily ſubmit; and this on the generous conſideration that they are ſuppoſed to be for the benefit and advantage of the whole empire.

At

At the ſame time, my friends and fellow citizens, the Americans declare, that if you will not concur with your own, and their enemies, to oppreſs them,—that is, if you will not concur with men whoſe every act of adminiſtration are ſo many evidences of a formed deſign to enſlave the whole empire, they will ever eſteem an union with you their glory and their happineſs.

That they will be ever ready to contribute all in their power towards the welfare of the empire; and that they will conſider your enemies as their enemies, and hold your intereſts as dear to them as their own.

They exhort you, my friends and fel ow citizens, for the ſake of that honour and juſtice for which this nation was once renowned,—they entreat you by all thoſe ties of common intereſt which are inſeparable to the ſubjects of free ſtates, not to ſuffer you enemies to effect your ſlavery in their ruin

The

They ſet before you in the ſtrongeſt colours all thoſe diſadvantages which muſt attend that large independent power the ſovereigns of Great-Britain will gain by the means of taxing, in an arbitrary manner, the Americans;— —and they invite you, for theſe cogent reaſons, to join with them in every legal method to diſappoint the deſigns of our common foes.

It is not impoſſible, my fellow citizens, that after having tamely ſuffered the government, by a yearly increaſe of taxes, to beggar yourſelves and your poſterity, you may be led away with the wicked, but deluſive hope, that the Miniſtry, when they have the power to pick the pockets of your American brethren, will have the moderation to ſave thoſe of their countrymen.

If theſe are your thoughts, my fellow citizens, little have you ſtudied your own natures, and the experience of all ages, which muſt

muſt have convinced you, that the want of power is the only limitation to the exertion of human ſelfiſhneſs; but ſhould you be contented to bid defiance to the warnings of common policy,—ſhould you be contented to be ſlaves on the hope that the Americans will bear the greater part of the burden of your enormous taxes,—be aſſured, that ſuch an alternative will never be in your power:—No;—if a civil war commences between Great-Britain and her Colonies, either the Mother Country, by one great exertion, may ruin both herſelf and America, or the Americans, by a lingering conteſt, will gain an independency; and in this caſe, all thoſe advantages which you for ſome time have enjoyed by your Colonies, and advantages which have hitherto preſerved you from a national bankruptcy, muſt for ever have an end; and whilſt a new, a flouriſhing, and an extenſive empire of freemen is eſtabliſhed on the other ſide the Atlantic, you, with the loſs of all thoſe bleſſings you have received

by

by the unrivalled ſtate of your commerce, will be left to the bare poſſeſſion of your foggy iſlands; and this under the ſway of a domeſtic deſpot, or you will become the provinces of ſome powerful European ſtate.

If a long ſucceſſion of abuſed proſperity ſhould, my friends and fellow citizens, have entirely deprived you of that virtue, the renown of which makes you even at this day reſpectable among all the nations of the civilized world;—if neither the principles of juſtice or generoſity have any weight with you, let me conjure you to take into conſideration the intereſts of your ſafety and preſervation:—Suffer me again to remind you of the imminent danger of your ſituation:—Your Miniſters, by attacking the rights of all America, have effected that which the malicious policy of more judicious minds would have avoided. Your coloniſts, convinced that their ſafety depends on their harmony, are now united in one ſtrong bond

of

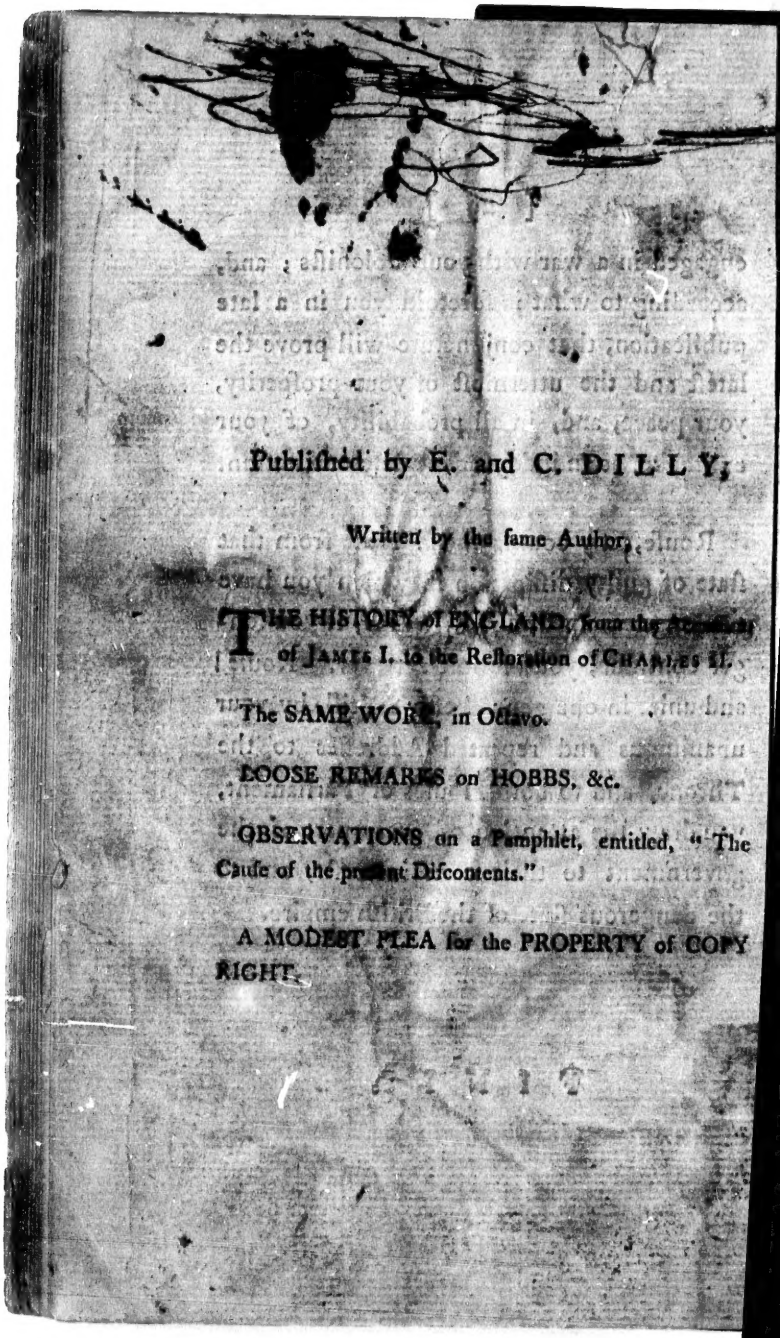
of union; nor will it be in the power of a Machiavel to take any advantage of thoſe feuds and jealouſies which formerly ſubſiſted among them, and which expoſed their liberties to more real danger than all the fleets and armies we are able to ſend againſt them. Your Miniſters alſo, deceived by preſent appearances, vainly imagine, becauſe our rivals in Europe are encouraging us to engage beyond the poſſibility of a retreat, that they will reject the opportunity when it offers of putting a final end to the greatneſs and the glory of our empire; but if, by the imprudent meaſures of the government, the public expences increaſe, or the public income decreaſe to ſuch a degree that the public revenue fail, and you be rendered unable to pay the intereſt of your debt, then will no longer be delayed the day and the hour of your deſtruction;—then will you become an eaſy prey to the courts of France and Spain, who, you may depend upon it, will fall upon you as ſoon as they ſee you fairly

engaged

engaged in a war with your Coloniſts; and, according to what is foretold you in a late publication, that conjuncture will prove the lateſt and the uttermoſt of your proſperity, your peace, and, in all probability, of your exiſtence, as an independent ſtate and nation.

Rouſe, my count-ymen! rouſe from that ſtate of guilty diſſipation in which you have too long remained, and in which, if you longer continue, you are loſt for ever. Rouſe! and unite in one general effort; 'till, by your unanimous and repeated Addreſſes to the Throne, and to both Houſes of Parliament, you draw the attention of every part of the government to their own intereſts, and to the dangerous ſtate of the Britiſh empire.

FINIS.



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